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GENERAL CHERVOV SCORES U.S. POSITION AT GENEVA

LD251926 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS) -- Appearing in the programme "In the Interests of Peace and Security" telecast by Soviet television today, a representative of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR General Colonel Nikolay Chervov spoke about the need to find a way out from a dangerous situation which can emerge as a result of the NATO decision to deploy the newest U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, and about the ways for reaching mutually acceptable accords on the basis of equality and equal security.

"The Soviet Union's position on the issue," the general said, "has been more than once formulated in Leonid Brezhnev's statements and in other official documents. It is concrete and constructive. Its essence is as follows: We are not seeking superiority over anyone, but neither shall we tolerate superiority over us. The Soviet Union applies the same yardstick to its own security and the security of others. We are prepared to renounce on a reciprocal basis both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe."

"We are ready, if the West is not prepared for broader measures, to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles by hundreds of units on either side. The Soviet Union is ready to come to terms on a moratorium which would prevent for the duration of the talks the Soviet Union and NATO countries from building up and modernising their medium-range potentials. Moreover, the USSR could agree to a unilateral reduction -- in the framework of the moratorium -- of a certain part of its medium-range nuclear armaments moving, as it were, to that lower figure on which agreement it still to be reached with the United States."

"This is our approach. At the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva the Soviet Union is consistently guided by such an approach. Although the talks are confidential there recently appeared reports on the Western press, quoting the head of the U.S. delegation, Paul Nitze, reports that are trying to cast aspersions on the Soviet position, to accuse the Soviet Union of being unconstructive. Nothing can be farthest from the truth than this allegation. The Soviet approach to the talks rests on the principle of equality and equal security and does not encroach upon the interests of our partners. At the same time we rely on actual, not invented data and clear-cut criteria."

General Chervov quoted some figures characterising the medium-range nuclear means of the NATO countries and the Soviet Union in Europe. The figures testify to an approximate equality of the number of medium-range delivery vehicles. "But if," the general said, "all Soviet missiles are scrapped, the way the United States proposes it will lead to a two-fold superiority of NATO in medium-range delivery vehicles and a more than two-fold superiority in nuclear charges.

"In this case equality and the principle of equal security will be out of the question," General Chervov stressed. "At the same time it should be borne in mind that U.S. medium-range weapons can reach Soviet territory, while our medium-range means cannot reach U.S. territory. This is the main advantage the United States has. Even if the USSR, let us assume, had more medium-range nuclear means, even in such a case the United States would still retain the above-mentioned advantage."

In conclusion the representative of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR recalled Leonid Brezhnev's statement that the arms race wasn't our choice. "We had no and have no sinister designs in respect of other nations," General Chevov said. "We are prepared to substantiate our goodwill in the sphere of military detente with practical steps in the name of the policy of peace, steps toward averting war, and preventing the nuclear catastrophe."

"Today it depends, above all, on the United States and the blocs headed by it when the international political horizon will become free from storm-clouds, when potential sources of conflicts will be removed. Let's say frankly, it does not pay to seek confrontation with us.

"The Soviet Union proposes a different road, that of goodneighbourliness, honest cooperation and partnership. It would be very good if the West understood that all European nations, not only the countries of the socialist community, need peace and calm."

SOVIET, U.S. APPROACHES ON ARMS REDUCTION VIEWED

LD251340 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0010 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec (TASS) -- "The United States has chosen a stand which contradicts the principle of equality and equitable security. This is borne out by the idea of a 'zero option' which has been proposed by President Reagan," KRASNYAYA ZVEZDA writes in an article devoted to Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe.

The Soviet Union has adopted a truly serious and businesslike approach to this important problem, on whose solution depend the destinies of the world, and has worked out a constructive program of action, the article says. This approach was precisely formulated in the proposals to curtail nuclear arms in Europe put forward by Leonid Brezhnev during his visit to the FRG.

A substantial and new element in the stand of the USSR is the addendum to its earlier proposal with regard to a moratorium. Its substance is that should the other side agree to a moratorium, the Soviet Union would be prepared not only to cease the further deployment of SS-20 missiles, but to unilaterally curtail a part of its medium-range nuclear arms in the European part of the USSR -- to curtail as an advance, as it were, on the way toward that lower level on which the USSR and the United States may agree as a result of the talks.

Moreover, the Soviet Union is prepared to reach an agreement on the total renunciation by the two sides -- West and East -- of all kinds of medium-range nuclear arms which are aimed at targets in Europe, the paper stresses. In this way the problem of medium-range nuclear arms would simply cease to exist.

Finally, the USSR has expressed its readiness to reach an agreement on the total elimination of nuclear arms from Europe, medium-range as well as tactical.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out that Washington is giving the idea of "zero option" an altogether different meaning. "A solution in the American style" presumes only the absence of Soviet medium-range missiles, while implying the preservation in Europe and in the waters surrounding it of the present powerful nuclear potential of the United States and the nuclear potentials of its NATO allies.

"This plan is aimed at winning superior positions in the nuclear sphere, and it is therefore absolutely unrealistic," the paper wirtes.

NOVOYE VREMYA ISSUES SUPPLEMENT ON ARMS RACE

PM181543 [Editorial Report] Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 50 on 11 December is accompanied by a special supplement entitled "The Arms Race: the Danger the Burden, the Alternative," signed to press on 3 November 1981. The supplenent is divided into three parts of approximately 10,000 words each. The first part, headed "The Arms Race: the Danger" by V. Boykov discusses U.S. weapons and military doctrine and the role of U.S. military bases abroad in the context of the U.S. arms buildup. The second part, headed "The Arms Race: the Burden" by G. Sidorova discusses the cost of the arms race, while the third part by K. Borisov headed "The Arms Race: the Alternative" outlines Soviet disarmament proposals and describes the disarmament treaties signed between the USSR and the United States and traces the history of the socialist countries' proposals for peace in Europe. The supplement's "executive editors" are V. Boykov and L. Mlechin and its artistic editor is A. Garanin.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE

LD271820 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0945 GMT 27 Dec 81

["International Observers' Roundtable" program with Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, foreign affairs journalist; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of NOVOYE VREMYA editorial board; and Vitaliy Sergeyevich Sobolev, all-union radio commentator]

Brezhnev Interview on NBC

[Text] [Sobolev] Good day to you, comrades. When talking about the latest events in international life, I think we have to view them in the light of developments in the foreign policy situation during the entire outgoing year. If we turn to Comrade Brezhnev's interview with the American television network, which drew so much coverage and comment from the international press during the past week, we must say first of all that the Soviet leader's replies, the exposition of the consistent and constructive Soviet stand, are in themselves a continuation, worked out on Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's initiative, of the peace program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and developed by the 25th and 26th congresses. It should be stressed that the feasibility of this program has been confirmed by the important decisions made by the international community during the last year on the Soviet Union's initiative. I have in mind, for example, the declaration on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, that is, on one of the most important questions of our time. The numerous letters, telegrams and messages that have been received in connection with Comrade Brezhnev's 75th birthday go to show in particular that his efforts aimed at securing durable peace and broad, mutually beneficial cooperation among all countries are finding wide support around the world. We know that this was the purpose of the fruitful top-level talks that were held with the FRG leaders, of the Soviet-American talks that started in Geneva, of the regular session of the permanent Joint Soviet-French Commission on Cooperation that took place this month, and so on. The question of how to approach this goal was touched upon by Comrade Brezhnev in his recent interview with the American television network.

It is important, he said, that governments and state officials should fully realize that the main thing for all peoples on the planet is peace and confidence in what tomorrow will bring. And of course it is even more important that all this should be implemented in the actual policies of states. It is necessary to cool the dangerously hot and escalating arms race. It is necessary to bring down the high temperature of tension and extinguish the dangerous hotbeds of crisis, to renounce the policy of the senseless arms race, to come back to a road of normal relations among states -- of mutual respect, understanding and consideration for each other's legitimate interests. It is necessary that one should take up with seriousness and in a business-like manner the questions concerning the limitation and reduction of armaments. All this when put together will help to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war.

[Bogdanov] You see, Vitaliy Sergeyevich, it seems to me that Leonid Ilich's interview has a certain symbolism to it. This symbolism is contained in the fact that on the eve of 1982 our country has once again put forward a quite concrete program about what should be done not only with a view to normalizing the international situation but also to bringing about some fundamental, positive changes. In this connection I would like to draw attention to possibly three most important points, although the interview itself -- its whole spirit -- is most important. The world is going through very tense times. The confrontation exacerbated by the American side is continually pushing the world toward a certain dangerous line. And then in this interview the very important thought was voiced which not only acknowledged these dangers but marked out ways to liquidate them, to restore at least a normal situation in the world.

What does this mean? Leonid Ilich was asked a direct question: Do you believe in the success of the Geneva talks? His answer was: Yes, I do. But for this there is one very simple condition: equal security and equality between the sides.

The success of the talks lies in the observance of these conditions. He also spoke of the need to take into consideration the characteristics of weapon systems and geographical positions and to view all these problems in their totality, to resolve this problem as a whole. And he outlined a concrete way to do so. Then he was asked the following question that worries, I think without exaggerating, the whole of mankind: the prospects of Soviet-American relations. How does he see them developing? One must say that Leonid Ilich answered this question very optimistically in the end-result. Given the observance of certain quite simple and necessary conditions in the relations between states, and especially such great states as the USSR and the United States, these relations can be normal, and they can even be good.

What seemed very important to me to an equal degree, and I think this was noted all over the world, was his emphasis on the role that can be played by the so-called big, small and medium states in the normalization of the international situation. This last point is what I would like to draw your attention to. Here is what the Soviet Union is saying. This is a calm, confident and quite sober evaluation of the situation. This is not an understatement of the existing danger, but it is not an overstatement of it either. It is an optimistic program, realistically directed toward solving these problems. What is coming from across the ocean? A sheer flood of hysterics.

[Volskiy] Radomir Georgiyevich, I would like to add here that if we look at the responses to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's interview, they show, I think, that generally U.S. policies are now facing a more or less distinct threshold and that from this threshold they must turn in some direction, either toward reason, toward some constructive decisions, or toward even greater adventurism and even more dangerous preparations for war, and so on.

Still, there are a large number of strictly objective factors that do not depend on the subjective will of Reagan, Haig or anybody else and that act in their own right -- shall we say, economic circumstances. I think it is already clear to most observers that to solve the economic problems, to pull out of the crisis while maintaining the growth of military expenditure planned now by the Americans will hardly be possible.

Or take the question of West Europe, the mood in West Europe that will no doubt make itself felt even more in the future in the policies of many West European governments; and finally, one must not fail to take account of the developing countries. However poor they may be and however underdeveloped many of them are, still they will constitute in 20 years time -- already, by some calculations -- their population will constitute 90 percent of mankind. And their poverty and attempts to free themselves from the social and economic misfortunes that they are now experiencing is forcing them to resist American policies and oppose them insofar as these policies make permanent their disastrous situation and, to all appearances, bring them greater suffering.

Polish Crisis

And finally there is not more circumstance, the obvious fiasco currently suffered by imperialist policies over Poland. It became clear -- and I think this is already obvious to many in the West, too -- that the course directed toward the destabilization of the socialist community has no future.

[Sobolev] Yes. I think that today it is impossible for us not to speak about the West's attitude to the events in Poland, ever since the situation in that country began to normalize following the introduction of martial law, an unseemly, I would say, and ill-intentioned agitation has been visible in the bourgeois mass media and in certain political circles as well. For example, Radio Free Europe, the well-known propaganda organ of the U.S. CIA, has started working round the clock. As far as many other stations and publications are concerned, they have begun to disseminate lies and falsifications of history more actively, as L'HUMANITE, the newspaper of the French communists, points out.

Admittedly, the mountain of lies is producing a molehill of anti-Polish and anti-Soviet activity among the public in the West, Judging by the information coming in. In this respect, a speech made by a worker from the (Montefibre) factory at a gathering in the Italian town of Biella is very interesting. It simply makes me laugh, he said, when our boss signs appeals in defense of Solidarity. Does he really like unending, limitless strikes? Even in the United States, where readers and listeners are inundated every day with anti-Polish propaganda, the results are not obvious. For example, ASSOCIATED PRESS and the NBC television network held a poll. Half of those questioned declared that the introduction of martial law in Poland was inevitable in view of the serious economic situation. Thirty percent of those asked believe that Solidarity went too far in its demands. These statements do not yet mean, of course, that Americans are sufficiently clear in their minds. Nevertheless, they have undoubtedly disappointed those who are distorting the true course of events in Poland.

That work is being done with a flourish. It is known, for example, that a so-called Crisis Management Group attached to the U.S. President has been set up. This group is headed by Vice President Bush. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR reports, and I quote, that the group has been working behind the scenes since martial law was introduced in Poland. In fact, what crisis threatens the United States if the normal rhythm of life is reestablished in Poland?

[Bogdanov] I would divide this problem into two parts. One of these concerns Poland, only Poland and nobody else. This is an internal Polish problem. There is, however, another question: the attempts to internationalize the Polish problem, to turn it into an international problem in order to open the door to interference in Polish affairs, above all by the Americans and certain other Western forces.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the latest speech by President Reagan, the epithets, the misinterpretation of facts and direct falsifications that were permitted in that declaration. But I would also like to draw your attention to another aspect of this. Why is all this being done? For the sake of what? They are playing the typical, cynical U.S. game aimed at the solution, at the attainment of purely egoistic U.S. goals, to create the impression in West Europe of terrible crisis and a terribly increased "Soviet threat" and on that basis to twist the arm of the allies, because in conditions of crisis and tension it is always easier to exert pressure on the allies.

And one more thing: Is there not a wish to wreck the Geneva talks behind all this?

[Volskiy] Well, let us look at the following aspect of the matter. It is not for nothing that certain observers have been expressing the supposition that by whipping up this hullabaloo over Poland, U.S. ruling circles, or at any rate a certain section of those circles, are hoping to carry out some adventure or other that they have been preparing for a long time, playing on several boards as it were -- threatening Libya, Nicaragua, then some other country -- Iran, for example -- some other developing country, which the Americans believe comes within their sphere of interests, blackmailing those countries. Amid the fuss that they are whipping up over the Polish events they are preparing an adventure of this kind. In my view that is far from being unsubstantiated suspicion.

[Sobolev] The most striking thing in my view is that the United States has excelled not so much in its attempt to set up a unified anticommunist front throughout the world as in exacerbating various types of conflict, in increasing alarm and anxiety everywhere. What has caused this? In West Europe it is caused by the U.S. aspiration to whip up tension, something which was appeared particularly sinister to the West Europeans in view of the declarations by the Washington leaders about the possibility of nuclear war on the old continent in limited form, in the form of a warning or in some other form.

In Latin America it is caused by open support for the most reactionary and bloody dictatorships and threats of military intervention in Nicaragua, Cuba and other states in the Caribbean and Central America. In Africa it is caused by the strengthening of the alliance with the racist South African regime and support for antipopular forces and regimes. In the Near East it is caused by the continuing identification of U.S. policy with the aggressive policy of Israel, which has been expressed, in particular, in the signing of the well-known strategic agreement.

U.S.-Israeli Differences

[Volskiy] Admittedly, the operation of this strategic agreement has now been suspended by the United States. In retaliation Begin has declared that he is renouncing it altogether, although, of course, this is all very reminiscent of a stage play with allotted roles like all that squabbling now in progress between Israel and the United States over the annexation decision...

[Sobolev, interrupting] And which both sides are trying to play down as much as possible, claiming that it is an argument between friends which, evidently, will soon be properly settled, so to speak.

[Volskiy] Nevertheless, both sides are making a certain amount of political capital out of these quarrels. There's no need to say much about the Americans. It is quite obvious that by publicizing their differences with Israel they are attracting or at least trying to attract, the sympathy of conservative sections of the Arab world. Israel, too, has its own interest in this. In the first place, the Begin government is demonstrating its imaginary independence of the United States to the inhabitants of Israel. Secondly, and most importantly, it is getting what it wants. It is implementing its annexationist plans and already trying to legalize its territorial acquisitions. Furthermore, the suspicion is now being voiced that it will soon submit resolutions on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip similar to that on the Golan Heights. It is even suspected that the Israelis will refuse to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula, thereby violating the Camp David accords signed by them, As-Sadat's Egypt and the United States.

But it has to be said that the United States would not, of course, care for such a turn of events. The United States certainly does not want the Camp David process to be derailed. Tel Aviv does not want this to happen either, I think because they understand that this process is favorable to Israeli expansionism.

Nevertheless, differences between Israel and the United States do, of course, exist. They exist, so to speak, within every aggressive alliance. Not one aggressive alliance can get by without differences, without one participant pursuing one set of goals and the other participant a different set. To some extent these goals coincide. In other respects they may also diverge at certain stages. For example, the United States, under the Reagan administration especially, is trying to bind Israel as tightly and closely as possible to its aggressive global anti-Soviet strategy, to turn Israel into its bridgehead and to use it at its own discretion.

[Sobolev] Incidentally, this was the purpose of the strategic agreement that envisaged the supply of additional U.S. arms to Israel so that they could subsequently be used by the so-called Rapid Deployment Forces...

[Volskiy, interrupting] Which would be based in Israel or at any rate would have some kind of staging post there.

But in this respect, Israel too, is striving to use U.S. policy in its own interests, in its narrower, imperial -- I would say -- schemes in the Near East.

[Sobolev] And not without success, if you will excuse me for interrupting. For example, the journal MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL, which is published in London, writes that the pro-Israeli lobby in the United States is widely held to be one of the most influential political forces of its kind. It is a well-organized and strongly welded grouping acting at various levels with the clear aim of preserving and strengthening the special relationship between the United States and Israel.

[Volskiy] Yes. But it has to be said that the Americans also have their own American lobby in Israel which is also active there and which also influences the bodies which run the state of Israel.

In summing up our talk about the Near East I would like to say the following: This complex and in many respects contradictory alliance between the United States and Israel is becoming particularly dangerous for the Arab countries and, I would even say, the cause of universal peace precisely because of its contradictory nature. It is no coincidence that many observers are now making the following prediction: that it cannot be ruled out that Tel Aviv will take advantage of the present situation to start a new war. They most probably expect to start this new war in southern Lebanon where their forces are already concentrated, in order to involve Syria in it. As you know, Syrian forces participating in the inter-Arab forces are deployed in Lebanon. This is also backed up by the fact that a serious concentration of Israeli troops has also begun on the Golan Heights now occupied by the Israelis, and they have been inspected by none other than Sharon, the minister of defense. Again, it was Sharon who recently declared that the conflict with Syria could only be resolved by military means. Well, you and I realize the danger inherent in such a turn of events. We also realize that complete responsibility for these dangers would be borne not only by Israel but by its patrons in Washington.

[Sobolev] Yes, in this respect it seems to me that in the view of the Arab countries the United States has even so not managed totally to dissociate itself from Israel's aggressive actions; that is to say, there is here a certain loss for American foreign policy in the Near East. In sum, it seems to me that Washington's militarist efforts are very often producing results it does not expect.

U.S. Policy in Europe, L. America

Indeed, if one speaks of Europe, then, as the American TIME magazine has admitted, the situation in that continent has never seemed more favorable for Moscow's calls for peace. This refers, of course, to the powerful antiwar movement in West Europe, and this is one of the important results of the present talks.

As for Latin America, the UN General Assembly recently adopted a resolution on El Salvador, which not only condemns the bloody repressions of the junta but also demands, clearly addressing itself to the United States, noninterference in the internal affairs of that country. A similar resolution was also adopted on the situation in Chile. The U.S. representative, together with the delegations of the more reactionary dictatorships, voted against both these documents but found himself in a decisive minority. His stand was not even supported by his West European allies.

[Volskiy] I would add the following, that not only has Washington's policy in the Western Hemisphere been complicated by its own actions in support of dictatorships, but these actions have also been a catalyst in the process of ferment among the United States' European allies, inasmuch as we know that it is very unwillingly and unenthusiastically that other NATO countries are supporting certain American steps with regard to Latin America, and first and foremost Central America; if they are giving their support, then they are doing so with great reluctance and under plain pressure. Indeed, as we know, France completely opposes, and quite energetically opposes, American policy in Central America and generally in Latin America.

[Sobolev] This is in general the standpoint of the Socialist International, to which the ruling parties of many West European countries belong.

[Volskiy] That is quite right. In this regard it is the standpoint of the Socialist International as a whole.

[Bogdanov] I get the impression that this line taken by West Europe and the Socialist International with regard to Latin America is a definite defensive reaction to all American policy, above all regarding Europe itself. It is a peculiar kind of move and a sort of zigzag, when Europe defends itself from its senior partner via the Western Hemishpere.

World Economic Situation

[Sobolev] Now I should like to turn to another topic. The end of the year is a time for assessing results and numerous forecasts in the economic sphere. True, these forecasts are highly uncertain, and the behavior of the economy is spoken of as if it were a wild beast. The bourgeois economy is acting in an unprecictable way. Of late in the main only gloomy predictions by specialists have come true. They completely disproved the forecasts of the political leaders, who had endeavored to display optimism that is easily explicable.

Take for example the assessment by Chancellor, the American television observer. The American economy once again cannot boast good news, he says. According to preliminary government estimates the gross national product has continued to fall for 3 consecutive months -- October, November and December. The rate of its reduction in annual terms is 5.5 percent. This signifies a far deeper and more protracted recession that was predicted by the Reagan administration. One must add that the recession is continuing in the British economy, too.

This is, of course, very regrettable, firstly, because economic troubles make bourgeois rulers more bellicose. They normally attempt to compensate for their sense of damaged morale arising from their unsuccessful handling of the economy by aggressiveness in the sphere of foreign policy. But, secondly, although it is the bourgeois economy that is undergoing a crisis, the working people suffer as a result. No eye is now capable of taking in that human sea of almost 30 million persons in the advanced capitalist countries alone, who are seeking work to no avail. Moreover, there is a constant increase in the cost of living.

But, nevertheless, one cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that the policies of the Reagan and Thatcher governments have played their part in exacerbating the present troubles. What then are these policies? You are aware, comrades, that in the age of carriages and stagecoaches the bourgeois economies galloped on their way rudderless, as they say, from one cyclical crisis to another. Then in the age of the automobile there was an attempt to attach to them some sort of state control mechanism, albeit a rather weak one. Now the American and British Governments are acting in relation to private capital in roughly the same way as the coachman who takes a coach across hummocks and potholes and who abandons all the brakes and the reins and waits to see what will become of this. As yet nothing good is coming of it. One can say one thing with certainty: that whatever heartening signs might be discerned by certain people, the natural law that was proved by Marx back in the last century is inevitable, and the capitalist economies are getting into the morass of the latest recession, which is the term now used.

[Bodganov] You know, all of Reagan's social program cuts took effect quite recently, on 1 October this year. Indeed, eyewitnesses who were at that time in Washington, New York and other American cities, in offices where this social aid is extended witnessed hatred and literally the despair of tens, hundreds of thousands of people who should have received this aid but were not receiving it.

We are, of course, all pondering nevertheless what the results of the year are and what the prospects are for the policy of the Reagan administration. It seems that to a great extent its behavior, especially abroad, will depend on how matters proceed in the American economy. More accurately it will depend on two factors: on whether the administration will manage to bring down the level of inflation and lower the level of unemployment. The most authoritative opinions and the most optimistic estimates of very authoritative American specialists, including some winners of the Nobel Prize, famous American pillars of economic thinking, are unanimously of the view that there are no prospects for Reaganomics -- you know, this term now defines this so-called new economic policy. It has no prospects. If one turns to what is thought by the people themselves who are in charge of these Reaganomics -- I have in mind Stockman, the director of the Office of Management and Budget -- it turns out that these people who are cutting social programs and raising military expenditure do not themselves believe that this program can possibly be successful to any extent.

[Sobolev] One also needs to say that the socialist countries, too, have been summing up the results of the development of their economies this year. As yet these results are of a preliminary nature, of course, but it is already possible to speak about successful progress being made. Take Cuba for instance. I want to take that country as an example because in a few days' time it will be marking the anniversary of its revolution. In Cuba the annual plan has been exceeded by 2.5 percent. Moreover, this applies to all main sectors. Increased productivity is above all characteristic of the economic development of Cuba, as it is indeed of other socialist countries. The Cuban comrades, for instance, put 28 industrial projects into service during the outgoing year. Nevertheless, the increase in output was more than 90 percent due to higher productivity. I want, too, to dwell on the results of Zafra, the harvesting of sugarcane, Cuba's main agricultural crop. Almost half of it was harvested by combines, and the productivity of the cutters increased by a fifth. The Cuban press notes that the Zafra was carried out in record time with the least losses of worktime and raw materials. A fine harvest was gathered despite the rust disease that struck the plantations 2 years ago. In general one should say that the successes of the Cuban economy have been achieved despite many unfavorable factors, above all, an intensification of the economic blockade by the United States and terrorist acts by the CIA, which is waging a secret biological and bacteriological war against Cuba. It must also be said that the successes of the economy have permitted the standard of living of the working people to be markedly improved. The earnings of 2 million Cubans have been raised this year, on average by 14 percent. The public consumption funds have been increased. Speaking about cultural development, one should note that Cubans recently celebrated the 20th anniversary of the elimination of illiteracy in the country. This was one of the first great accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. Over 1 million Cubans learned to read and write in a short period. At the present time not only is 1 out of 3 people in the country studying, but also 20,000 Cuban teachers are helping the peoples of other countries to rid themselves of illiteracy and cultural backwardness.

Here we come to the end of our programme. Thank you for your attention, comrades. All the best!

STUDIO 9 VIEWS POLAND, PEACE, WORLD HEALTH

LD270136 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1505 GMT 26 Dec 81

["Studio 9 program moderated by Prof Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet television and radio, with Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Information Department, and Acad Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, chairman of the "Soviet Committee of Physicians for Averting Nuclear War participating"]

Peace Policies

[Excerpts] [Zorin] Among the problems that worry people today, wherever they may live, the main problem, of course, is the problem of peace, the problem of easing international tension. Events will move either in the direction of peace, or toward dangerous confrontation. Everyone is saying this.

There is probably no politician in the world who would venture to come out openly against peace and say he is in favor of moving toward war. The leaders of the Western powers too, including the United States, talk about their devotion to peace, unless we take such extremes as, say, the statement made at the beginning of this year by Secretary of State Haig, who said there were more important things in the world than peace. If we do not take such extremes, we must say that the Washington leaders, especially of late, have been talking quite a lot about how dedicated they are to peace, and President Reagan, in particular, has recently made several such declarations. It is significant that even the Beijing leaders who, recently enough for us to remember, were speaking of the possibility of building their society on radioactive ruins, have, in the post-Mao Zedong years, ceased to proclaim those theses, at least publicly, and have clearly toned down their utterances. But if that is the case, the entirely legitimate question must arise: If everyone is a supporter of peace, if everyone advocates peace, then where did the present international tension come from? What is its source? What feeds it? And so I would like to begin our discussion today with this question, and ask you, Valentine Mikhaylovich, to answer it.

[Falin] Indeed, the Western governments vie with each other at times in the choice of the most vivid epithets with which to underline their love of peace. True, the other side of the coin, often, is the simultaneous approving of militarist programs, programs of the arms race, each of which, usually, is more dangerous than the last. A paradox? Yes, it is a paradox, but only an apparent one. In real life, all social phenomena and their habitual designations, so habitual that we often use them without thinking, are profoundly determined by party and class. As for freedom, there is no abstract concept of freedom. Freedom for whom? The United States had the reputation of being the freest country in the world even at a time when Negroes were being bought and sold, wholesale and retail, at the slave markets, and when the original population of that country, the Indians, were hunted like game. The United States talked about freedom when they were enslaving the states of Latin America, or the states of Southeast Asia; when they were wiping out millions of Koreans, Vietnamese, Kampucheans, Laotians. In 1979, that is nearly 5 years after they pulled out of Indochina, the United States admitted, through the mouth of Carter, that they had no need to interfere in that region, that they had no interests there that would have justified such interference. Well, what is the use of such an admission to the dead? To those whom the Vietnamese war deprived of everything, of health, and of their belief that life is worth living? And peace, however all-embracing and understandable to everyone, is also far from being an abstract category. It is a perfectly concrete category.

From the first day of its existence as a socialist state, the Soviet Union has proposed peace, peaceful coexistence, renunciaiton of armaments and war, to all the other states of the world. How did they reply to that offer of ours? An offer which presupposed that both the Soviet Union, the Soviet republic as it then was, and the other states would take concrete action to make peace a fact? Peace, cooperation, coexistence with whom? With the godless Bolsheviks? No! The question did not even arise in the ruling circles of the Western countries. It seemed like a fable; it seemed like sedition; it seemed like the negation of all the foundations of the societies that existed. And they tried to convince us, not by words, that we were wrong, that we had no right to the peaceful life and goodneighborliness that we wanted. And World War II, and the attack on us, were just a further manifestation of that same imperialist policy. And so, the question of peace, if we look at it not from the point of view of what we would like but from the position of concretely doing something about it, is a far more difficult and complex matter which presupposes not just declarations but also precise, constructive deeds, moves and actions by all states because undoubtedly it is impossible to establish and guarantee peace by the efforts of one state, or group of states, alone.

You mentioned a speech by Alexander Haig. There are also more drastic and cynical statements, glorifying force as a refuge, as the only possible guarantee that some state, or some interests of that state, will be reckoned with. And today, I repeat, there are people unfortunately still around, there are still politicians, who ask, what will peace cost?

Will peace not be more advantageous to my competitor that to me? Will peace not be of greater benefit to a so-called potential enemy than to us? And finding no answer to that question, or finding an answer unsatisfactory, they continue a line which not only does not remove the threat of war from the agenda of human life but actually makes that threat more acute.

We have to see another side of the question, too: Why, when you ask, where does that policy spring from, where is the interest, which is by no means always visible? [as heard] I ask you this: Does not the interest lie in the fact that the monopolies make five times more profit on military orders than on carrying out civilian programs and producing civilian goods? Is not this one of the explanations? Or I will ask you another question: Is the special interest of the United States in other regions of the world, the Near and Middle East, Latin America, southern Asia and others, not perhaps due to the fact that for every dollar invested here in the oil extraction industry, in industry producing raw materials, the Americans obtain a profit of 300 percent and do not want to forgo that profit? I do not want to exaggerate the importance of these economic factors, but they undoubtedly do play a part, together with others, and on occasion they play a paramount role and set the tone in politics.

If we look seriously at what is happening in the world, we cannot leave to one side either the attempts to restore the role of the United States that they have always unjustly claimed in the past, and are even more unjustly claiming now -- the right to dictate to others how they should live, what to do and what not to do. The United States call this America's leading role in the world. Well, in another language, if we express the same idea differently, the United States lays claim to hegemony and domination, which other countries certainly cannot agree to and will not agree to.

[Zorin] Valentin Mikhaylovich, if I have understood you correctly, it looks as if we are in for another round of the cold war?

[Falin] Well, we are in for a cold winter, anyway. And I think sooner or later they will come to the same conclusion in the United States that was drawn in that country at the end of the sixties; that to live, to try to live, the way they had been doing previously, to act from or be guided by the same categories that they acted on in the forties or the early fifties, is not in the interests of the United States. The reason is that the United States, by sowing conflicts, tension and bringing danger closer to other countries, to the frontiers of other countries, is drawing tension toward itself. It is itself becoming the victim of a policy that costs other peoples dear, but is not cheap for the United States either, and cannot be cheap. The conclusions that were drawn in the sixties, and the premises that conditioned those conclusions, are 100 percent, I would say more than 100 percent, maybe 200 percent, valid today. Mankind can no longer exist and live according to the concepts that may have been applicable and practicable in the 19th century. Take man's productive activity. It has transcended the frontiers of national states. Smoke from chimneys in the United States falls as acid rain on Canada, and the Canadians are fighting to get the United States to take Canadian interests into account. The Great Lakes, the pearl of the American, North American Continent, are practically dead because it was to someone's advantage to discharge unpurified water into them. The problem of water purification is very important, one of the most important problems of Western Europe, with the density of population living there.

Disarmament, World Wealth

[Zorin] Here, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, we are getting onto themes and subjects that are up your street. So I would like to ask you to give us your point of view on what unused, or possibly underused possibilities of peaceful coexistence of states exist in connection with the problems we are discussing, and what such cooperation could contribute to making people's life on our earth really human, really humane.

[Chazov] I understand your question, Valentin Sergeyevich. I was listening to Valentin Mikhaylovich, and I suppose for a man, especially of my profession, humane profession, yes, it 's strange and bizarre to hear that billions are being spent on the arms race that could be spent on public health, on people's needs. After all, mankind today faces a great many problems which, on the face of it, ought not to exist. We somehow always imagined that science, the development of science, progress, would lead to our having fewer problems. Yet the problems mount. And one of the problems that are a cause of anxiety to all mankind today is that the world is getting older, giving rise to a great many diseases that carry off millions of lives throughout the world.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, what do you mean by the world getting older?

[Chazov] By the world getting older, we mean that more and more people are living into late middle age and old age. And the number of such people is on the increase in all countries, by the way, the developing countries. And that means an increase in such illnesses as cardiovascular disease, oncological diseases, social problems; and when you think in our committee, we studied questions of the interrelation between military spending and the development of public health, and I remember a figure: In 30 years of NATO's existence, it was cost the peoples of those countries the gigantic sum of $2.625 trillion.

Well, what does this mean? It is sometimes difficult to imagine what this means. Well, it turns out that this figure is 45 times the spending on health, it is 180 times the spending on education.

But at the same time, of course, if one imagines peoples and countries joining together all of a sudden to solve the basic social and medical problems, the problems of food and energy, well it is hard to imagine how our planet earth would flourish. Well, I can say as a doctor that 1 billion people on our earth today in 60 countries of the world are potential victims of malaria. We are always afraid that malaria could spread and that it could appear in various countries. The centers of infection must be destroyed. In order to solve this problem, we, the doctors of the world, need just $450 million. This is a drop in the ocean. I think this is one-third of the cost of an atomic submarine.

[Zorin] Just one?

[Chazov] Yes, just one submarine. Taking another issue, by way of example, you know that mankind suffers a great deal from the shortage of good-quality drinking water, and from the problems of sewerage and sanitation. It turns out that to provide the whole of the world's population with good-quality drinking water and to solve the problems of sanitation, $155 billion are needed. Just compare the two figures: $2.625 trillion and a mere $135 billion.

[Falin] Or one American annual budget, which currently runs at $226 billion.

[Chazov] Well, it is always more convincing to compare different figures. When we are just talking simply, without referring to figures and to problems, perhaps not everyone understands what we are saying. And when we raise specific tasks, define specific issues and discuss them, then this becomes easy for all people, for all the peoples of the world, to understand. But at the same time, I would say that there is international cooperation in this.

It is hard to imagine today what international cooperation of scientists could do -- well, I am talking about scientists, and this applies to various fields of technology and other problems. So, it seems to me that the task today -- and while I may not be a politician, I repeat that I am a scientist and doctor, and it is sometimes strange for me to hear talk of this sort -- I must say that if mankind gets together and unites its material resources, then it can do a very great deal to solve the vital problems which face the peoples of the world.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, one could conclude from what you have said that the arms race is, of course, a dangerous thing, because an uncontrollable situation could arise and because someone could start military action with malicious intent, and the consequences of that would be terrible. But, it also ensues from what you said that the arms race today takes quite a terrible toll even in the absence of war.

[Falin] I shall permit myself to add that the threats lurking and accumulating today -- if I can put it like that -- are not the result of progress, not the payment for the progress, for the achievements of science and for the knowledge of nature of which we are so rightly proud. But they are the consequence of the fact that it has not yet proved possible to bring the private into line with the common, to bring the national, or, to be more precise perhaps, the nationalistic, into line with the international. Because development is being directed by certain circles along the path of limiting cooperation, whereas it is in the interests of mankind for everything possible to be done to ensure that the principle of cooperation, the principle of goodneighborliness permeates the whole of the international fabric. And this is probably the answer to many of the issues which trouble people and cannot fail to trouble them.

[Zorin] I would like to touch on the following: Political mystification has perhaps existed for as long as human society. In ancient Egypt, priests who could already predict, whose knowledge of astronomy was already sufficient to predict a solar eclipse, said that inadequate respect for the temples would incur the punishment of the gods, that it was necessary to pray fervently and that then the sun would be made to emerge from the shadow. This is what they did, and it made an impression on the ignorant masses, the uneducated masses.

Western Propaganda in Poland

[Zorin] And now today, too, on a different level political mystifications are part of the armament of bourgeois politicians. And probably one of the favorite mystifications with the aid of which...now Yevgeniy Ivanovich said individuality cannot be suppressed, that you cannot deprive everyone of individuality...you can somehow dim individuality and work on it, and this is being done with the aid of such mystifications as talk about the Soviet threat.

Now we need not go far to talk about the activities of Western and particularly American propaganda in connection with events occuring in Poland which certain circles are persistently attempting to link with the Soviet threat and with Soviet actions. So now I would like to dwell on this range of topics, Valentin Mikhaylovich, if you have no objections.

[Falin] Valentin Sergeyevich, you are touching on such an extensive range that it will be necessary to speak as though presenting a thesis [tezisno] in order to say something and somehow answer your question.

In fact presently we are witnessing a spate, or even a wave, of anti-Soviet and antisocialist propaganda and propaganda hostile to people's Poland and its leadership; fierce propaganda which refrains from nothing, which is being built -- and I can say this directly and with all responsibility -- on deliberate falsifications and on invented figures and nonexistent facts.

Now if we were to analyze the West's reaction to what has been occuring in Poland in recent weeks we could notice at least two periods. The first period following the introduction of martial law in that country was one of confusion. There was no idea in the West about how events would develop, who would take the upper hand -- the government relying on the armed forces and the forces of law and order or anticommunist, antisocialist and counterrevolutionary elements -- or who would be the winner in this struggle. It was also unclear what position would be occupied by the friends of socialist Poland, by the Soviet Union. This was not clear.

Therefore the first reaction was one of caution. The events in Poland were an internal matter of the Poles and nobody should interfere.

After it became clear that the counterrevolution was failing, that the plans for unleashing a civil war in Poland failed -- and it was precisely these plans that the counterrevolution was hatching: there are documents attesting to the intentions of extremists from Solidarity and the Confederation of Independent Poland, KSS-KOR members, and others, to physically exterminate tens of thousands of PZPR members, members of the government, servicemen, personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the militia. These facts are being hushed up in the West and you can never hear anything about them over there -- but since these plans suffered failure Western propagandists, fed by the United States, have begun building up their anti-Polish and anti-Soviet propaganda and have unleashed a whole campaign around this.

Now what are the basic theses present in this campaign? That freedom in Poland is being crushed; that the army has attacked the Polish working people and is seizing plants; that mass repressions are being realized in this country; that tens and even hundreds of people have been killed, and so on and so forth.

First of all, as of today, nearly 5,000 people have been arrested in Poland, besides they have not even been arrested, they have been interned and many of them are being released and allowed to go home if they pledge to abide by the Polish Constitution and laws. Nothing more is demanded from them than that legality which is written in such bold type in all countries presently waging an anti-Polish campaign.

As far as the use of firearms in concerned it can be said that firearms were not used in any situation at the initiative of the army or internal affairs forces, that there was in fact shooting but only in response to a direct threat to the lives of servicemen in the line of self defense. And the number of vicitims about which there is talk has not surpassed 10 people yet. It is regrettable that 10 people have died. Nobody in Poland, including the Polish leadership, has any other opinion concerning this matter. These 10 or even 1 could have been avoided. Not a single injury either on the side of the armed forces and law and order forces or on the side of those who are defying the martial law was necessary.

I would like to ask the shouters in the West: How many victims have you seen in your country among demonstrators during any clash between police and those who, for any reason, defy the orders of authorities? How many? In the small West German town of (Rondorf) alone where there were demonstrations against the construction of an atomic electric power station where there were hundreds of injured.

In the United States, when clashes occurred in Miami and other cities, dozens were killed -- and even more in some cases, by the National Guard and the Police. This is not to mention Ulster and other ailing regions and points in the Western world where order cannot be seen despite the fact that tens and tens of thousands of military servicemen are being thrown into the suppression of disturbances.

But this does not matter. There are no parallels, no direct parallels, between what is occuring in Poland and what is occuring in the Western countries because the nature of these manifestations is different, because even when demonstrators take to the streets in the very same United States, in the same FRG or in the same Great Britain they are not raising the issue of overthrowing the existing system. They are not raising the question of overthrowing or abolishing the existing constitution. If this was the way the question was put then there need not be a minute of doubt that the response of the authorities, of the forces defending the consitution and the system existing in these countries, would be simple and completely ruthless.

In Poland we must see for ourselves the prospects of what would have happened if, literally at the very last moment, the decision had not been made by the leadership of this country -- and only this country, without any interference or pressure from outside -- to introduce martial law. Without a doubt we would have already witnessed bloodshed, with many many thousands of victims. We would be witnessing chaos that would essentially affect and deprive every Polish family; we would be witnessing an even more difficult-to-reverse deterioration of the economy in this country because everything was being done to deprive the Polish family of normal supplies of both food and other essential goods in order to leave the Polish homes without heat and so that Poland would become bankrupt as an economic partner.

Let us review a simple fact. This year Poland will produce 50 million tons of coal less than before the beginning of the violence [razgul] of the so-called Solidarity. What prevents Poland from producing these 50 million tons of coal -- the same machines, the same working hand, the same miners, as a matter of fact. But Poland is being deprived of the basic source of means for purchasing goods essential for the normal functioning of its industry insofar as many of the plants built in Poland in recent years operate on the basis of cooperative ties with Western companies and with companies in capitalist countries. Without these ties they are incapable of functioning normally.

Poland is being deprived of the opportunity to purchase goods -- which is normal in conditions of international economic exchange -- needed by the broad circles, by the broad masses. Poland is being deprived of the opportunity to pay off its credits that -- perhaps not always wisely and perhaps even simply unwisely on such a scale and under such conditions -- it entered into in the past. All these are facts that cannot be refuted by anyone in the West no matter how much they wish to. Therefore, these facts are simply ignored. They do not exist for Western propaganda. Western propaganda needs a fetish. It needs a whipping boy. It needs to assert -- contrary to logic and contrary to facts -- that the army is seizing plants; it is seizing national [obshchenarodnuyu] property; it is seizing enterprises that serve and are obliged to serve the national [obshchenatsionalnyy] interest.

There is no need to seize these enterprises. There is a need -- and Poland is vitally interested in this -- that these enterprises function, that they cease being hotbeds of a struggle for power -- not by those who work at these enterprises but by those who want to use the workers as instruments in the struggle for power, who want to shelter behind these workers in order to seize power and act according to the principle of the worse the better.

I am confident that the situation in Poland would clear up and normalize in a matter of weeks as far as the social and political situation is concerned and as far as order is concerned, if there was no flagrant -- the most flagrant -- interference into the internal affairs of this country over the air by radio voices, both American and not only American, who work on the Polish population, incite the youth first of all to defy the authorities -- daily and nightly 24 hours a day the so-called Free Europe Radio station that is maintained by the CIA broadcasts to Poland -- if there was no interference in the form of instructions, money and equipment sent by various channels to the same Confederation of Independent Poland and to the same KSS-KOR association and to the same Solidarity for waging antigovernment activities, everything would have been different.

After all, things went so far that American radio stations at two American consulates, in Poznan and Kracow, took it upon themselves to instruct Polish extremists and appealed to them to defy the authorities.

Now what state, you can ask yourselves, would permit foreign representatives on its territory to engage in such activities? Not a single state would permit this and least of all, as a matter of fact, would the United States permit this.

[Zorin] And at the same time it attempts to assert that the Soviet Union is interfering in Polish affairs.

[Falin] Of course, naturally. Presently a favorite and one should say a fashionable thesis has been flung out that until now American propaganda and American officials used in relations to other countries. For instance Cuba was accused of acting on instructions, as it were, of the Soviet Union in Africa and other regions. Now the Polish leadership is being called a puppet of the Soviet Union, and they think: ah, how can we punish both the Polish leadership and how can we punish, as it were, the Soviet Union as well.

If we are interfering in some way in Polish affairs it is only by granting Poland raw materials and oil and by helping to solve the food problem, without our oil and without our natural gas the Polish economy would come to a standstill within 2 days. The lights would go out in Polish homes and the Poles would freeze this winter without heat.

There you have interference. But this interference, speaking directly, would be welcomed by the Polish leadership if it was being carried out by the United States. But how did the United States respond to these events? It stopped talks with Poland on food supplies, on extending credit for purchases of certain kinds of fodder and foodstuffs in the United States and declared that under present conditions food supplies to Poland would help the government. Now this is being declared in relation to a state with which the United States maintains normal diplomatic relations. This is tyranny -- it is difficult to find another word here -- and it is interference in another's internal affairs in such an overt and vividly imperialist form and an attempt to dictate to others what suits the United States and what does not.

Disarmament Talks

[Zorin] Since our time is running out, I have a difficult question to ask you, Valentin Mikhaylovich. This is our last "Studio 9" discussion this year, and people naturally always want to look a little ahead. We shall not look very far ahead. But, as briefly as possible, how do you see the approaching new year, 1982, in terms of international politics?

[Falin] Above all, we should wish a Happy New Year to those who have set aside time for this program and who listen to us. And we should say that we can enter this new year, undoubtedly a complex and difficult one, not just with fears but also with hopes. Replying to questions from the American NBC television network, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev outlined those areas where in the opinion of our leadership and in the hopes of the Soviet people, developments could be more constructive than they have been to now. There is no doubt that if the United States displays a bare minimum of objectivity, a minimum absence of bias, a minimum desire to reckon with the interests of the other side and to act in conformity with the principle of equality and equal security, then in 1982 we can count on an accord, or at least decisive steps towards an accord, on missile weaponry in Europe. All the preconditions for this exist. As far as the Soviet side is concerned, our desire to reach an agreement is there, and it is documented in Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's statements in Bonn recently, as well as in other Soviet actions and in the instructions which have been given to our delegation at the Geneva talks.

Undoubtedly, talks can also start on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive armaments, talks which were broken off by the United States, Everyone will recall that the American Senate used various pretexts as reasons for not ratifying the SALT II agreement, and so it did not come into force. Thus, we are not now witnessing those considerable reductions which were to have come about over the course of this year under the treaty. The Soviet Union alone was to have made a cut of 10 percent, or 254 missiles. These are missiles of enormous destructive power. One can count, I repeat, on talks on this beginning, and, once again, if on the U.S. side there is goodwill and a minimum desire to cooperate, these talks could be successful.

Essentially, progress could be achieved at all the forums where the problems of disarmament are being examined -- in Vienna, in Geneva -- since the fruitlessness, so far, of the talks both in Vienna and Geneva and in other places has so far not been connected with, it is not being brought about by, any objective difficulties; it is caused by the Western sides unwillingness to seek agreement.

The coming year could bring solutions, greater calm in such regions as Afghanistan. Once again, Afghanistan's good will, the Soviet Union's desire to promote a solution of the Afghan problem -- let us nominally call it that -- are apparent. In Poland -- returning to Poland -- 1982 could be the start of a constructive and tranquil period of development. Everything depends entirely on whether Polish interests are respected, on whether Poland's internal affairs are not interfered in, on whether those who are now interfering under the cover of talk about noninterference do not merely engage in such talk, but really adhere to the principles of noninterference in practice, so that the Polish events are not used as a reason for stoking up international tension.

[Chazov] I believe that international cooperation on solving the most topical problems preoccupying mankind will expand among scientists, and it seems to me that a great deal will depend on how actively the peoples of the world come out against the threat of nuclear war. And that will undoubtedly expand. That is what I wanted to add.

[Zorin] Well, it only remains for me to thank you for taking part in our discussion today and to express the hope that we will also have the opportunity of seeing you in "Studio 9" next year; to thank you, the viewers, and to wish you all the best in the coming year, until we meet again here in "Studio 9." Thank you.

GVISHIANI OPENS UNESCO SYMPOSIUM IN TBILISI

WA211600 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Excerpts] D. Gvishiani, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, called the international symposium, which opened in Tbilisi on 6 December, an example of the active position held by representatives of modern world science for the benefit of wide, international cooperation. The theme of the symposium was "Forecasting Science and the Needs of Mankind". The symposium was conducted by the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research within a framework of participation by Soviet organizations active in UNESCO, particularly in the program "Scientific Research and Human Needs". An important contribution to the organization of the symposium was made by the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA).

Participants in the Tbilisi meeting discussed problems on coordinating the efforts of scientists, scientific societies and political leaders in determining a path of scientific-technical and social progress.

Opening the symposium D. Gvishiani, who was elected chairman, noted the importance and urgency of the problems being discussed. He expres ed certainty that the Tbilisi meeting of scientists and specialists would serve the further strengthening of international cooperation and mutual understanding.

Speaking about the achievements of the Georgian SSR, Acad D. Gvishiani emphasized that this is a republic with a highly-developed level of science and technology, industry and agriculture, all of which make use of the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress. The achievements of Georgian scientists in the fields of psychology, philosophy, physics and chemistry, biology and archeology, etc., are known throughout the world. All of this is combined here with an extremely careful attitude toward the natural environment.

U.S. INTERFERENCE IN POLAND CONDEMNED

PRAVDA on U.S. Secret Services

LD251210 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 25 Dec, TASS -- Follows the full text of the article by Vladimir Bolshakov "On the Interference of the U.S. Secret Services in the Affairs of the Polish People's Republic", which was published in the newspaper PRAVDA today:

The events in Poland have been featured prominently for more than a year now in Western newspapers, in radio and television reports. Explaining the reasons behind this campaign, the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote late in October this year that the West had a vital stake in the Polish experiment, which if it were crowned with success... could ensure a geopolitical gain for the West.

One need not be able to read between the lines to understand what cherished dream was shared by the newspaper with the readers. The point at issue are old plans of imperialism for the restoration of capitalism in Poland, for wresting the country out of the socialist community, above all from the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The anti-socialist forces in Poland acted according to the "scenarios" for undermining socialism, which had been drawn up overseas. They openly declared a "crusade" against socialism in Poland and against the entire socialist community already at the Solidarity's congress in Gdansk, by passing, not without prompting by the U.S. secret services, the notorious "Appeal to the Peoples of Eastern Europe" which is until now used for propaganda by the Western subversive centres in their programmes beamed to the socialist countries.

At their meeting in Radom early in December this year the chiefs of Solidarity, who did not mince their terminology among their circle, declared that the time had come for a "lightning manoeuvre" to stage a "program of the party", capture power, liquidate socialism in Poland and withdraw it from the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The advocates of "a renewal of socialism" threw off their masks. The Polish people, rank and file members of Solidarity were faced with rabid counterrevolutionaries, who were ready, as some chiefs of Solidarity said, to "hang the communists" and unleash a cruel campaign of terror against the patriots of Poland, who uphold the positions of socialism. The Western reactionaries would not be able to find more zealous executors of their plans for the elimination of socialism in Poland: Hence there is nothing astonishing about Washington's hysterical reaction to the establishment of the martial Council for National Redemption in Poland and introduction of martial law in the country.

The White House and the State Department immediately demanded that "conditions be restored" necessary for continuing "political experiments" in Poland, in other words that a free hand be given to the counter-revolutionaries.

The White House did not conceal that the events in Poland were a subject not only of political, but also of strategic interest for the United States. The White House officially announced the setting up of a special "working group" for Poland (it is reported to have been "unofficially" functioning for a long time already), which has been busy round the clock since December 13. It is interesting to note that it is headed by a high-ranking official of the U.S. State Department, John D. Scanlan who, according to the reference book Who Is Who in the CIA, which was published in Berlin, has been on the staff of the U.S. State Department and concurrently of the CIA since 1956, working at the U.S. embassies in Ankara, Belgrade, Moscow, Warsaw and Montevideo. On December 16, President Reagan set up another "special group for the study of the situation" headed by Vice President Bush "for the assessment of the national crisis in Poland." The group includes Haig, Weinberger, CIA Director Casey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Jones, representatives of the White House and the National Security Council.

In a secret directive that group is viewed as headquarters for outlying [as received] specific steps by the U.S. administration towards the events in Poland and coordination of actions by various U.S. services for giving assistance to the forces of the Polish counterrevolution in their struggle against Poland's legitimate government.

Poland was chosen as a target of subversive activities by the United States and the other imperialist powers in the countries of Eastern Europe way back in the fifties when the CIA unleashed a "full scale secret war" against Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia -- the "Redsox - Redcap" Operation, whose aim was to instigate actions against the people's power in those countries.

Having suffered a failure in their attempts to stage counter-revolutionary coups in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the subversive services of imperialism, in the first place of American imperialism, started scrupulous preparations for new actions to "corrupt socialism from the inside." People's Poland was listed as item one in their plans.

Explaining the cause of this course of action, the ZAGADNENIA I MATERIALY journal (a publication of the Department of Ideological-Educational Work of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party) wrote in March 1981: "In the latter half of the seventies the Western experts drew the conclusion that Poland's stand among the European socialist countries became the most vulnerable one to directed actions by the West. This was also a result of a number of miscalcualtions of the PUWP leadership in the economic and social policy, the growing economic dependence on the West and neglected ideological work, in the first place among young people, and, as the journal pointed out, "the presence of a large number of emigrants and the enormous influence of the Catholic Church."

Ideological pressure to bear on Poland was exerted through support for the "controlled crisis", material and moral aid for the opposition groupings patronised by the secret services of the United States and the other NATO member countries.

The foes of the new system, the class enemies of the working people draw conclusions from their defeats and act displaying increasing perfidy and sophistication.

In May 1975 CIA agents arranged for a meeting in Geneva of a group of "dissident" emigres from the socialist countries. That group, as the Polish newspaper SZTANDAR MLOYDYCH wrote, initiated a movement under the notorious slogan of the "Defence of Human Rights." From the very outset it planned to transfer its activities into the socialist countries. The funds for that openly anti-socialist grouping were raised by the Western sabotage centers.

In September 1976 a so-called "Committee for the Defence of Workers" (KOR) was set up in Poland. Later a new part was added to that name -- "Public Self-Defence Committee" (KSS). The organization hostile to socialism received money, printing and publishing equipment from the same funds, which were granted by the CIA to the Geneva group of dissidents.

The CIA used, as had been more than once the case in its practices, dummy organizations and all sorts of screens. With this aim was chosen, in particular, the Australian "Polish National Committee", which is under the control of supporters of General Anders, and is permanently engaged in subversive activity against the Polish People's Republic. In 1976, right after the establishment of KOR, as one of the leaders of the Australian Polish People's Committee R. Strelecki admitted, thousands of dollars have been sent from Australia to finance the underground movement.

Preparations to create a "controlled crisis" in Poland were particularly intensified after President Carter came to power in 1977. The next year the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee set up a special "coordination committee" on Polish affairs. The committee centered all of its attention on legalising "opposition" (which was making its first steps at that time). Interference in Poland's affairs and patronage of "opposition" were carried out, as is known, under the slogan of "Defence of Human Rights," which was used by Carter throughout the whole of his presidency.

First the KOR men also used that slogan. KSS-KOR set up "committees of independent trade unions" in Gdansk and Katowice in 1977. It is precisely these committees which became in 1980 the organizational nucleus of "Solidarity".

KSS-KOR acted in close contact also with other dissident groups in Poland, backed by Western intelligence services, in particular the "Movement in Defence of Human and Citizen Rights", "Confederation of Independent Poland", which was established in 1979, following the pattern of the detachments of storm troopers of the fascist "Freedom and Independence" gang (which operated underground in Poland for some time after the war), etc.

The main coordinator of the activity of that whole anti-socialist rabble was the CIA centre in Munich acting under the signboard of the "Liberty" and "Free Europe" radio stations and actively cooperating with the London based "Government of Poland", which has long been on the CIA's payroll, the Paris based centre of Polish emigration grouping around the KULTURA journal, Zionist groupings of emigres from Poland united in the United States around the annex JOURNAL and in Israel around the newspaper NOWINY I KURIER, the Anders organizations in various countries, etc.

The reconstruction of the U.S. foreign policy propaganda machinery enabled the "Liberty", "Free Europe" and "Voice of America", with which other "official" and semi-official radio centres of the NATO countries and Radio Vatican cooperated, to step up intensive subversive activity against Poland.

"Free Europe" for the first time went on the air in the Polish language in May 1952. Already then the volume of all programmes of radio "Free Europe" beamed to Poland made up 65 percent of all of its broadcasts. The time of instigagory broadcasting was first 18 hours, then beginning from 1975, nineteen hours a day. Since August 1980 Radio "Free Europe" has been broadcasting its programmes to Poland round-the-clock. Branches of the Polish "desk" of Radio "Free Europe" were set up way back in the early fifties in New York, London, Paris, Rome, Stockholm, Bonn, West Berlin, Brussels and Athens. The news services of the numerous bureaus of Radio "Free Europe" first come to New York, where they are processed, and a part of them (20-30 percent) is then returned to Munich for broadcasting. Up to 70 percent of the "information" is used by the CIA as intelligence.

Representatives of the present U.S. administration did not conceal the fact that they regard "Free Europe" to be an "effective factor for a change in Poland", as a "catalyst of discontent" and coordinator os strike actions. Ciphered instructions were also broadcast through the "Voice of America" channels for the counter-revolutionary Polish underground. It became known in September 1980.

The propaganda by these radio stations of the "cause of defence of human rights" in Poland was conducted with the active support of such "oppositionists" as Kuron, Michnik, Modzelewski and others. The latter received enormous fees from Radio "Free Europe", "independent" publishing houses controlled by the CIA and KULTURA for the slanderous stories about Poland supplied by them. Already in 1976, i.e. a year before its creation, KSS-KOR had a fund of more than three million zlotys.

Using economic levers of pressure on Poland, the United States and its allies in the long run succeeded in actually legalising KSS-KOR, a number of other anti-socialist groupings, to whose activity, including the "zamizdat" (illegal publishing, translator's note) activity, the former Polish authorities simply closed their eyes. Speaking on the causes of this "carelessness", the Polish radio noted in one of its recent commentaries that one of the strings attached to receipt of credits by Poland in the West was that the authorities would not take resolute actions against KSS-KOR. And not only against that counter-revolutionary organization. Actually all restrictions were lifted on the entry of Poland by members of reactionary emigre organizations, thousands of whom rushed there. Already by late 1978 up to 120,000 Americans of Polish parentage came to Poland from the United States every year, a part of them "remained to stay in the homeland". Ten thousand American citizens were resident in Poland in November 1981, among them quite a lot of people who are openly hostile to socialism or are agents of the U.S. intelligence services.

As a result of overseas aid and active recruitment of unsteady youth, the anti-socialist forces in Poland, led by KSS-KOR and the CIP [Confederation of Independent Poland], were no longer small groups by 1980 but well-organized units of many thousands and could quickly take the initiative into their own hands after the establishment of "Solidarity" in August, 1980. Having taken the leadership of this organization into their own hands, the leaders of KSS-KOR, CIP and other anti-socialist groupings began practising "strike terrorism" in order to disorganize the Polish economy and aggravate the shortages of foodstuffs, fuel and prime necessities resulting from the disorganization of production.

All this was done in order to create an atmosphere of anarchy in the country, to undermine the socialist statehood and to create conditions for a counterrevolutionary coup.

Commenting on the approach of President Reagan's administration to the Polish events, S. Rosenfeld, a well-informed Washington commentator, writing on December 15, 1981, summed up the viewpoint of Reagan's camp concerning this problem as follows: The United States should not dissuade the enslaved peoples out of fighting for freedom only because such struggle will inconvenience Western diplomacy. The United States, he went on, should rather offer any support it can give since resistance, including military clashes, may blaze in Eastern Europe for decades before it finally becomes free.

The past year showed that that was the way Reagan's camp acted toward Poland and other socialist countries.

To judge by statements of U.S. representatives of this bloc, the new administration left in force Carter's secret instruction on the coordination of action by NATO countries in subversive activities against Poland and in helping the anti-socialist forces inside Poland. There has been a marked increase in U.S. subversive propaganda beamed to Poland and the activities of the American intelligence service in that country. On March 26, 1981 the U.S. Senate unanimously supported the President's statement that the United States will help Poland economically only provided the Polish authorities do not "oppress" the anti-socialist forces.

From the very beginning the U.S. administration has been orientating itself to the counterrevolutionary top leaders of "Solidarity". This was done evidently in the belief that the seizure of power in Poland by the "Solidarity" leaders is a matter of a near future. The leadership of the "Solidarity" was acting along the same lines and began opening its own "embassies" abroad in the form of "information bureaus." Such "bureaus" were opened in London and New York. It was planned to establish something like this in the FRG, Japan, France and Italy.

On September 25, 1981, a press conference was held in New York on the occasion of the opening there of an information bureau of "Solidarity" in the United States named the non-commercial corporation of New York state "Friends of the Independent Polish Trade Union 'Solidarity' Incorporated." Z. Pszetakiewicz, the president of the new corporation, a Polish citizen, member of KOR and of "Solidarity" who had arrived in the United States as a "tourist", introduced to pressmen his American colleagues -- Biard Rustin, who was appointed exectuvie director of the "corporation", and Tadeusz Walendowshi, president of the Poland watching centre which was established in the United States in 1980.

The progressive press in the United States pointed out that behind the signboard of "Solidarity incorporated" one could clearly see the activities of American special services.

The leaders of Solidarity" in Poland evidently saw how transparent this "screen" was and decided two months later to close their New York "bureau".

The CIA was also actively using other screens, specifically reactionary trade union leaders in order to give through them assistance to counterrevolutionary organizations in Poland.

On September 4, 1980 a so-called "fund" for assistance to Polish workers was set up in the United States. The money provided by the AFL-CIO, was used specifically to buy printing equipment and a radio station for "Solidarity". Irving Brown, one of the most reactionary leaders of AFL-CIO, a CIA agent since 1948, was entrusted with control of these funds. Brown maintained close connections with CULTURE [KULTURA] and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions smuggled to Poland, through its Swedish branch printed matter, typewriters, copying and radio communication equipment for "Solidarity". Now, after the imposition of martial law, this organization has announced the establishment of a single European "Solidarity committee" with its headquarters in Stockholm for giving help to its associates in Poland. The reactionary trade union bosses of the United States and the "Solidarity" top leaders also maintained close ties with the organization "Free Poland" which includes persons who collaborated with the Hitlerites. This gang is headed by K. Ganf, a former Polish citizen, a servant of fascists, who fled abroad after the war. "Free Poland" takes an active part in the collection of funds for the Polish counterrevolution, especially for the "Confederation of Free Poland" which is represented in the leadership of "Solidarity", and for militant groups of the CIP. And this is understandable; as was stressed in the announcement of the General Prosecutor's Office of Poland of February 6, 1981, the programme of the CIP "fully accords with the aims of terrorist and sabotage foreign gangs, such as the organization 'Free Poland'".

Incidentally, the leaders of the "Solidarity", far from being ashamed of such contacts, even advertised them. Thus, in February 1981 representatives of "Solidarity" took part in the work of the annual meeting of the "Society in Defence of Human Rights" in the FRG. This society was founded by the CIA in 1972 with Ivan Awangruzow, a CIA agent and formerly a Hitlerite hanger-on, as one of its leaders. "The society" does not conceal that its aim is to liquidate socialism in Poland and other socialist countries. And the leaders of the "Solidarity" were moved to see that Awanagruzow and company were collecting funds for them.

There is one more thing to be mentioned. M. Suszicki, one of the KOR leaders, openly admitted at the beginning of 1981 that "Free Europe" prepares its materials about the activities of the "opposition" in Poland with the active participation of J. Kuron, the leader of KSS-KOR and one of the leading experts of "Solidarity".

"Solidarity" was also closely connected with the Paris magazine KULTURA headed by its editor-in-chief A. Gedroits. This "editorial office" was turned by the CIA into a kind of coordination centre for the collection of funds to finance the Polish counterrevolution. KULTURA had broad ties with "Solidarity" experts from KOR. Many of these "experts" for example K. Modzelewski, J. Onyszkiewicz, B. Geremek, A Mitchnik and others, were constant contributors to this magazine and underwent a kind of a "practical training" at this centre of the CIA. Already in March 1981, KULTURA had on its official account 186,000 francs in the "fund" for assistance to Polish workers. But that was only the beginning.

On its pages KULTURA constantly publishes lists of "patrons" who donate money to the assistance funds of KSS-KOR, CIP, "The Movement in Defence of Human and Civil Rights", "the Association of Scientific Courses", "the independent publishing house Nowa", "free" trade unions and other anti-socialist organizations. But the "patrons" are not the only source of financing. The Polish press pointed out that the praise of patrons on the pages of KULTURA was "only a fig leaf covering up the channels of money donations from the West for anti-socialist activities in Poland."

According to the Polish Ministry of the Interior, 400 centres supporting members of the political opposition in Poland were established in different countries already in June, 1981. According to some data they sent secretly several million dollars into Poland.

It was said at a press conference of the Polish Ministry of the Interior in May, 1981 that the situation in Poland was regarded by the intelligence services of NATO states as a convenient excuse for actions in its territory for purposes of weakening the ties between the socialist countries and their defence capacity. It was directly stressed in the documents of Western intelligence centres that Poland had never been as important to them as in the period when the counter-revolution was openly operating in the country. Interconnections between intelligence activities and political subversion became obvious more and more often.

According to the Polish counter-intelligence service there was a considerable increase in the number of attempts to recruit Polish citizens in 1980-1981. On the other hand, visitors to Poland included more and more often staff members of intelligence services and persons cooperating with them, with the latter often being citizens of neutral states.

It was stressed at the press conference that intelligence services are operating in Poland on a widely ramified [as received] basis with sepcial emphasis being laid on the collection of information about the actual social and economic situation in the country, and on the state of its defense. One more thing. Formerly the intelligence services of NATO states were concentrating their activities at big centres in Poland whereas by May, 1981 these intelligence services were active practically throughout the country. It was also pointed out that the greatest interest in Poland is shown by the U.S. intelligence service.

The Pentagon and the State Department of the United States as well as NATO intelligence services are operating in close cooperation with the CIA. A special Poland watching group was set up at the Pentagon.

Beginning with August, 1980 the country was flooded with anti-socialist, anti-soviet leaflets, placards and slogans.

A number of press organs of "Solidarity", the publication of which was started thanks to the supply of this organization, also supplied from the West, launched a rabid anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign. The printeries of "Solidarity" issued anti-socialist and anti-state literature in big impressions.

This campaign was actively assisted from outside. As was stated by the chairman of the Committee for Broadcasting and Television of Poland at a press conference in November 1981, the radio stations beaming their programmes to Poland outnumber radio stations in Poland three to one. Even the radio transmitters of the U.S. consulates in Krakow and Poznan were used for subversive propaganda.

It is now becoming increasingly clear as a result of the confiscatation of a number of documents at the headquarters of "Solidarity" and the counter-revolutionary groupings KSS-KOR and CIP, that the activities of the anti-socialist forces were coordinated and directed by Western intelligence services. It is known, for instance, that special posts for current contacts with "Solidarity" were established at certain missions of capitalist countries and staff members of special services were appointed to these jobs.

Such are the facts. There are many more of them, but those mentioned above are enough to expose as liars men such as Mr Ramberg, representative of the U.S. State Department, men who contrary to facts are trying to assert that the United States was allegedly following a "policy of non-interference" in Polish affairs.

These pharistical statements are being made at a time when the "Voice of America", the governmental radio station of the United States, is increasing broadcasting time for subversive programmes to Poland, to say nothing of the round-the-clock broadcasting by the radio station "Free Europe", openly expresses "sympathy" with rabid counter-revolutionaries, and instigates them to new actions. The White House and the State Department, trampling under foot all standards of international law, are trying to dicatate to the Polish authorities how they should manage the internal affairs and are trying to organize pressure on Poland. And they call this policy "non-interference". In fact their policy has been and remains a policy of active interference. Its obvious aim is to destroy socialism in Poland, to tear Poland away from the socialist community.

Those who are hatching such aggressive plans and conducting a new crusade against Poland under Dulles' banner of "rolling back communism" should be reminded that the socialist community has repulsed lovers of such ventures more than once.

Reagan's 'Christmas Address'

LD241712 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 24 Dec TASS -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan has made a Christmas address on television.

A large portion of it was devoted to the situation in Poland. The President used the speech for making rude attacks, both in form and essence, on the sovereign Polish state and its legitimate government headed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, rather than for giving an objective account of the developments in Poland and setting forth his country's weighed approach to this issue.

The U.S. President, unfortunately resorted to a deliberate distortion of the events in Poland. His speech is abundant in fabrications about "killings, mass arrests and the setting up of concentration camps," and so on, and so forth. He went so far as to make absurd assertions that the Polish Government was waging a war against its own people.

The President pretended that he was unaware of the actions of Solidarity extremists who openly ten days ago planned to topple the legitimate government of the Polish People's Republic and prepared bloody repressions against hundreds of thousands of honest Poles, the fact which is known to the entire world.

The U.S. President spoke in a preemptory manner, tried to dictate to Poland what it should do, what policy it should pursue inside the country and outside. Reagan declared that the United States "is taking immediate action to suspend major elements of our economic relationship with the Polish Government." He also announced that his administration halts the renewal of credits, suspends the right of Poland's fishing fleet to operate in American waters and stops all government-sponsored shipments of agricultural and diary products to the Polish Government.

Such are the methods which the United States is going to apply as regards the sovereign state -- the Polish People's Republic -- only because its leadership, on the strength of its prerogative, is taking measures to protect Polish national interests. Reagan did not limit himself to this, he declared that other steps will be undertaken if the plotters are not released.

The U.S. President's speech was also used for slandering the Soviet Union's policy. Without any grounds whatsoever, he claimed that the Soviet Union was involved in the developments in Poland.

The entire address by Reagan was made in a rude manner, it was full of fabrications and arrogance in respect to other states and peoples. Let the powers that be in the United States know that this is not the language or policy from which the United States and the American people themselves can benefit.

PRAVDA On Reagan Statements

LD262312 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2235 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (TASS) -- Noting the gradual normalization of the situation in Poland, May Podklyuchnikov writes today in PRAVDA that the Polish people are getting a clearer and clearer idea of just how crafty and dangerous the counterrevolutionary plot, which aimed at the overthrow of the people's power and the restoration of capitalism, was. The decisive actions of the military Council of National Salvation, as everyone can now see, diverted a great and threatening calamity.

The imperialistic circles in the United States and other NATO countries, the observer emphasizes, are annoyed that events are not unfolding according to their scenario, which, as political strategists beyond the ocean thought, would inevitably bring with it "Soviet intervention." They dreamed that then they would be able to come into their own, whipping up international tension, throwing aside everything linked with detente, and rejecting any talks on arms limitations and reductions. But the monstrous provocation which they dreamt up, in which Poland had the role of small change in the great political game of the enemies of peace and socialism, has failed. Poland will resolve its affairs for itself.

One or two people in Washington are clearly possessed by an idee fixe -- that of "punishing" the Polish people for the fact that the majority of them have accepted the introduction of martial law in the country and are striving to normalize the situation.

The peak of the campaign, May Podklyuchnikov notes, was U.S. President R. Reagan's speech on television. He resorted to a deliberate falsification of events in Poland. In the form of an ultimatum he attempted to dictate what this sovereign state should do and what sort of internal and foreign policy it should pursue. His speech enumerated discriminatory economic measures taken by the administration with regard to Poland, and it resounded with threats. The head of the White House's speech also contained slanders against the policies of the Soviet Union.

The impotent spite of the imperialist circles is understandable. The Polish People's Republic, as its leaders have firmly stated, has been and will remain a socialist country, an indestructible link in the Warsaw Pact and reliable member of the socialist community.

Haig Statement

LD252131 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1915 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The TASS commentary containing a decisive condemnation of the measures announced by President Reagan aimed at exerting economic pressure on Poland, including a ban on food shipments to this country, as interference in Polish internal affairs, has drawn great attention from the American press, and is widely quoted there. However, enraged by the failure of plans to overthrow by means of its agents the socialist order in Poland, official Washington is continuing to whip up anti-Polish hysteria.

After Reagan, U.S. Secretary of State Haig made a statement on American television touching on the questions of the situation in Poland and Soviet-American relations in light of the statement made by the head of the White House. He stated frankly that the United States has a sufficient number of levers for increasing the pressure on Poland so that it refrains, as he said, from any radical actions directed against Solidarity's extremists, that is, antisocialist, counterrevolutionary forces which declared themselves against the lawful government in Poland and were preparing to take over power in the country. At the same time the secretary of state deliberately ignored the indisputable fact that in taking measures to defend law and restore order in Poland the Polish Government is acting on the basis of the country's Constitution and existing laws, while the United States allows itself to interfere grossly in Poland's internal affairs despite the well-known norms of international law. He also chose to ignore the fact that the discriminatory economic sanctions to which the U.S. administration has resorced, especially in the area of food supplies, are by their nature extremely inhumane.

Aware of the wide condemnation of these inhumane measures by international public opinion, Haig mentioned the need to act with caution. The conclusion in itself is correct. But it is not in the least supported by the further statements of the secretary of state himself. He said that the United States, together with other Western countries, has already done everything possible, and has exerted all necessary pressure on Poland so that, as he put it, moderation be restored to this sovereign state.

What this moderation means in the language of Washington became clear when Haig, interfering directly in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, stated that Poland must continue with the reforms, or in other words, must allow counterrevolutionary antisocialist forces to continue working toward the overthrow of socialist order, toward chaos and the breakdown of the country's economy.

The secretary of state went even further, saying that in his opinion the resistance to Polish authorities cannot stop all of a sudden. In this way he made it clear that the U.S. administration would be happier if Solidarity extremists and other anti-state groupings in Poland continued their antigovernment activities in the future and hindered in all possible ways the normalization of the situation in the country.

In the light of such statments from Haig, and also from other U.S. officials, it is becoming even more obvious who was behind the Solidarity extremists, who was inciting fascist-style organizations such as the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poalnd toward anti-government and antisocialist actions.

It follows from what Haig said that in the U.S. administration there are people who are interested in a confrontation of forces in Poland with all possible consequences of this extremely dangerous step.

TASS REPORTS JARUZELSKI 24 DEC ADDRESS

LD250938 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Dec, TASS -- Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed the country with a Christmas message broadcast by Polish radio on Thursday. He said:

Dear fellow Poles!

I am addressing you on this day deeply rooted in Polish tradition and customs. I am addressing those who are spending this evening in the family circle, and to those who remain in their posts of work and duty.

We are celebrating this year's Christmas in exceptional conditions. I am aware how the restrictions of martial law have complicated everyday life and interfered with personal plans. The truth is, however, that passing burdens, rigours and restrictions are by far a lesser evil than a fratricidal conflict which until recently was knocking on our door.

There were many moments in the history of Poland when the choice was not between good and evil but between greater and lesser evil. We have made this choice. I am confident that the future will pass a fair judgment on this choice.

Until the very last moment we had not given up hope that extraordinary measures would not prove necessary. We made many efforts to arrive at a national accord, to implement the necessary reforms through legislative processes. Nobody has the right to accuse the government of striving for confrontation. I believed that a road would be found leading to a compromise solution of a dangerous crisis.

However, accord requires good will from all sides to it. That good will was not there. Today we already know who failed to demonstrate good will and who proclaimed a confrontation. The evidence is universally known. It forms a sad, inerasable part of Polish history.

On the 13th of December there was no longer any alternative. Let everyone of us answer in his conscience the question of where Poland was headed for? How much longer could the country survive, torn by strikes, inflamed by tensions, sinking in the climate of artificially kindled hatred?

I address this question also to those foreign circles which still a fortnight or so ago advised the Poles to brace themselves for work and restore order and discipline. Today these same circles lament noisily over the steps which were taken in Poland with just those aims in mind. One can get the impression that some people are interested in Poland remaining in a state of chaos, being an insolvent debtor and the sick man of Europe.

I state categorically that reports speaking of tens of hundreds of fatalities, thousands of people arrested and kept outdoors in the cold, beaten up and tortured are lies. The truth about Poland cannot be concealed in Poland. Sooner or later it will be known to the entire world.

The imposition of martial law came as a deep shock to the entire society, to all citizens. We wished that not one drop of blood be spilled. We hoped this would be so. Unfortunately it could not be avoided. We all feel pain over the developments in the Wujek coal mine. This is my personal tragedy, too. The responsibility for what happened there falls on those ringleaders who organized and committed acts of aggression and broke the martial law.

Citizens,

The process of decomposition of the state has been halted. Anarchy has been checked. Personal security of citizens is improving. The country withstood the first attack of harsh winter. The foiling of confrontation removed the danger to Poland whose genuineness and seriousness are not universally appreciated so far.

As long as there is such need we will exact the observance of the harsh requirements of martial law. I declare at the same time that martial law will not be in force one hour longer than it will prove necessary. The sooner ground is cut from under the feet of the mad advocates of an evil cause and organizers of conspiratory undertakings, the sooner peace and clam will be restored and normalization will be achieved.

The only road opening up before Poland is the one of joint concerted effort by the entire society, the road of deepening the socialist democracy. Moscow intends to nullify the basic assuumptions of the renewal. Revenge and mean squaring of accounts are alien to us. There will be no military dictatorship in socialist Poland, but there will neither be any dismantling of the state and room for advocates of confrortation.

Soon we will present the society with a programme of proposed undertakings. It will be aimed at consolidating the fundamental socialist achievements of the working class, farmers, all working people, including the preservation and deepening of those useful changes which appeared in our public life in the course of the last dozen months or so.

It is difficult today to ask for a credit of confidence. May actions speak in our favour instead of words. Step by step, we shall be persistently creating institutional guarantees to see that there is never again the evil and distortions accumulated prior to August 1980, but also to make sure that there can be no return to the dangers that the recent period brought with it.

There is room in our socio-political system for self-governed and truly independent trade unions -- independent from the state employer, but also from manipulations and terror of irresponsible political gamblers. There is room for worker self-governance. An abundance of forms of social, scientific and cultural life is not incompatible with the intentions of the authorities. The right of the Catholic Church to the performance of its mission is guaranteed by the Constitution. The same applies to other denominations. The putting in order and modernization of the socialist structures of our public life will be accompanied by respect for the best Polish national traditions shaped over the centuries. The century-old history of the Polish working class movement will also remain an important source of inspiration.

Therefore the chance of national agreement is still open. Indeed, it may even prove to be more feasible than before.

Dear fellow Poles,

I cannot wish you a merry and prosperous Christmas today. This year the holidays are modest, but they are safe.

May the difficulties and limitations of the present period not deprive you of your well-earned rest.

To those performing their tasks today I wish perseverance in the discharging of the duties entrusted to them.

May this family holiday, the holiday of concord and peace, stay in your memory as the beginning of a road toward a better, happier Poland. May the feeling of brotherhood and community of the Polish fate take the upper hand of bitterness and fear about tomorrow.

There is only one Poland. We must extricate it from misfortune by common effort. No one will do it for us. Let us extinguish in our home the embers of discord and hatred. May the days of Christmas be conducive to wise, patriotic reflections.

SITUATION AT ZIEMOWIT, PIAST MINES REPORTED

LD261342 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 26 Dec 81

["On the State of Affairs in Poland" -- TASS headlines]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Dec, TASS -- Polish radio and television on the last Saturday of the outgoing year give numerous facts of the gradual normalization of life in the country.

Television showed a reportage about the visit by Wojciech Jaruzelski to the servicemen of a mechanized regiment stationed near the Polish capital. In a conversation with soldiers and officers, he noted their high combat readiness and exemplary discipline, thanked them for their dedicated service, and expressed a general wish that time come as soon as possible when servicemen could return to their everyday duties.

According to press reports, tranquillity has set in at the metallurgical complex "Katowice". At the "Ziemowit" mine, the mine workers who had been forcibly held underground for many days by a group of militant terrorists came out to the surface on Christmas Eve.

Polish television last night showed a full-of-tragedy reportage about the events that had taken place at the Ziemowit mine. Women -- the mothers and wives of mine workers -- stood for days near the management office building of the enterprise. There were tears in the eyes of many of them. One of the women related, crying:

"Only Hitlerites may be acted in this way. [as received] Those who keep our husbands down there have got neither ethics nor simple human compassion. In one family, a daughter died. The father is grief-sticken; the wife is in hospital and a son-in-law is kept underground. He entreated for letting him go to attend the funeral -- nothing came of that. Are those people human?"

The truth about the events was also related by one of the mine workers who managed to come out to the surface earlier than others:

"We mine workers have a strongly developed instinct of self-preservation. We look for a way out of any situation. The matter concerns not voluntariness, but violence against those who found themselves down there. They were influenced psychologically, morally and at times physically, too. Some of them including myself, managed to get here to the surface by the underground passage-ways. It has now become known that one of the passage-ways was blown up and caved in."

Then the mine's commissar in the rank of lieutenant colonel appeared on television. He stated, in particular: "As it became known, to us, there was more than a ton of explosives down below." Part of them was blown up as a result of which, as the commissar of the mine said, some passage-ways and exits were blocked up.

The newspaper WIADOMOSCI SZECZEINSKIE carried an article about the instigatory activities of the "Free Europe" Radio station. At present one of the instigatory theses of that radio centre, the newspaper writes, has it that "the costs of the martial law will be paid by the Polish people." What kind of costs is meant? Is it that industrial enterprises at last started putting things right? Is it that rythmical work is being established at them as the factory are provided with raw materials? Is it that the number of goods in shops increases, and that crime sharply dimished? We know, the newspaper points out, that the imposition of martial law broke off at last the vicious circle of the break-up of the economy and the state. Such is the truth.

Some of the extremist leaders of Solidarity actively participate in recent days in the provocative broadcasts of the "Free Europe" radio station. On the eve of the imposition of the martial law in the Polish People's Republic, they were abroad, and now from abroad they try to slander the socialist system and its gains.

CORRECTION TO TASS REPORT ON SITUATION IN POLAND

The following correction is to the Moscow TASS item entitled "Situation in Poland, Western Distortions Noted" published in the Eastern Europe section of the 23 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page F 3:

On page F 4, third paragraph, line two, should read: "...who were instigating the working people to strikes. The strike committee at the Boryna mine has surrendered. The strike has been called off." (supplying omitted line)

EAGLEBURGER'S TOUR ATTEMPT AT GROSS PRESSURE

LD251822 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1722 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 25 Dec (TASS) -- The U.S. administration is putting gross pressure on the countries of Western Europe in an attempt to draw its NATO allies into the anti-Polish, anti-Soviet hysteria that is being whipped up by official Washington in connection with the measures by the Polish People's Republic State Council to defend legality and restore public order.

It is with precisely that aim that the White House hurriedly sent off Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, L. Eagleburger on a tour of a number of NATO countries. Crudely distorting the true situation in the Polish People's Republic, Eagleburger is demanding that the governments of those countries should resort to economic "sanctions" against the Polish People's Republic, including the stoppage of food deliveries. In its desire to include the West European states in the furious campaign of political and economic pressure on the Polish government that has been unleashed by Washington, the U.S. administration is flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

Eagleburger and his ilk are in essence appealing for the Polish people to be doomed to a continuation of the economic chaos and anarchy in Poland. With regard to this they are counting on a worsening of those difficulties, particularly in the food supply, which Poland is experiencing as a result of many months of subversive antisocialist activity by the extremists of Solidarity. It is assumed that during his tour Eagleburger had a meeting with some of the extremist leaders of Solidarity, who were directing their efforts at the destabilization of the Polish economy and whose methods included strike action, and who have not renounced their schemes even now.

It is evident that inflammatory aims such as these of the assistant secretary of state's tour are absolutely incompatible with the declarations frequently made about the need for the Poles themselves to settle the Polish crisis without any outside interference and reveal the falsehood and hypocrisy of such declarations.

Eagleburger's mission is also evidence of the fact that the United States, scoring the interests of the European countries, which are interested in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation in Europe, are nudging events not toward normalization of the situation around Poland and in the country itself but to an escalation of tension on the European continent. Commenting on Eagleburger's visit, L'HUMANITE writes: the United States is stepping up the pressure on its allies in connection with the events in Poland in order to heighten tension.

W. EUROPE 'COOL' TOWARD U.S. POLISH MEASURES

LD271006 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Washington, 27 Dec, TASS -- The attempts by Ronald Reagan's administration to compel its West European partners to join the campaign of crude blackmail and pressure on the government of sovereign Poland are to no avail.

According to the American CBS television network, the official reaction in Western Europe to the discriminatory measures announced by President Ronald Reagan in respect to the Polish People's Republic are rather cool at best. The Federal Republic of Germany, CBS points out, flatly refused to impose any "sanctions" against Poland, and other countries also refuse to cooperate with the United States in this matter. U.S. Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger, sent into Western Europe to put pressure on the allies, met with what was described by the TV company as very cautious approach when he made an attempt to convince the British, French and Italian foreign ministers that their countries should follow the U.S. example. All these West European countries, as well as some others, Sweden and Denmark for instance, regard the developments in Poland as its internal matter, CBS points out.

PRAVDA REVIEWS BREZHNEV BOOK ON TRADE UNIONS

LD241108 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] PRAVDA today carries an editorial devoted to the publication of Comrade Brezhnev's book "Soviet Trade Unions in Conditions of Developed Socialism." In the reports, speeches and addresses of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev covering the period from November 1964 to February 1981, which have been collected in the book, the Leninist teaching on trade unions has received further development and the theoretical bases and practical tasks for their activity at the modern stage have been formulated.

PRAVDA writes that Soviet trade unions were and still are a school of administration. Moreover, and this is important in principle, they are a mass school, where tens of millions of people learn to grasp the science of the administration of production, of the state and society. At the stage of mature socialism, in the conditions of a state of the whole people, and even wider and more active participation by the working masses in the administration of the country's life has become firmly established as the central direction for the political development of Soviet society. Of great significance in this is the direct development of democratic principles in production and an increase in the activity of each worker. As Leonid Ilich Brezhnev notes, democracy is a hollow sound unless it includes the environment in which man labors every day and from which he receives his creative strength.

Participation in the administration of production is not limited to the resolution of economic tasks within the confines of a single collective. Trade unions and all working people have a rich armory of forms and means to implement their rights: workers' meetings, the standing production conferences, and collective agreements. In accordance with the USSR Constitution trade unions also have the right to legislative initiatives.

The trade unions were and still are a school of management. The sense of being the real master of production, PRAVDA notes, as inculclated by the party in the Soviet working class, finds vivid expression in socialist competition. The modilization of creative activity, initiative and labor enthusiasm of the masses has been characterized by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev as a mighty force for speeding up economic growth, a great advantage of socialism and one of the main secrets of the vital strength and dynamism of the new structure. Consequently, the party imparts great significance to the development of socialist competition. The book by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev notes that also of importance for us are the concrete economic results of the labor contest and the great educational possibilities that are invested therein.

The Soviet trade unions were and remain a school of communism. Their lofty calling to raise each toiler to the achievement of this aim is not simple, and one of the powerfull means for the inculcation of a new attitude toward labor is to achieve a state of affairs where what is done by each receives an objective and just assessment. Here, sharp words may and must be said by the trade unions, which, in accordance with Soviet legistation, possess broad rights in the questions of wages, the setting up norms and rates of pay, and have at their disposal large funds which are formed from the incomes of enterprises. In defending the interests of the working people, in having concern for their health, living and housing conditions and the organization of leisure, the trade unions are called upon to act decisively and unswervingly each time leaders of enterprises violate the requirements of labor legislation and forget about the social needs of the members of the production collectives.

At present, throughout the whole world, PRAVDA writes, and not only in the countries of socialism, the role of the working class and its organizations in the struggle for democracy and the freedom of people, for social progress and peace is increasing. Today the noble aims of the struggle for peace are coming to the fore in the activity of the international trade union movement.

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, at the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, called the forthcoming congress of Soviet trade unions a major political event of next year.

It will promote a further upsurge in the political and creative activity of the masses and a growth in the leading role of the USSR working class.

The book by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, "Soviet Trade Unions in Conditions of Developed Socialism," is further vivid testimony to the scientific groundings of the general course of the CPSU and the daily concern for improving the work of the trade unions, the reliable buttress of the party among the masses.

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS PROTECT WORKERS' INTERESTS

LD270340 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Summary] Here are some facts and figures about the Soviet trade unions. Previous programs said Soviet trade unions have a membership of 130 million. In the USSR there are 31 major branches, and to coordinate their activities the unions have their territorial councils. Executive committees of trade union locals at major enterprises are elected on a biannual basis. Shop committees are elected once a year. The 17th national trade union congress is scheduled to be held in Moscow in mid-March 1982. The unions stand for the rights and interests of the workers.

"By protecting the working man's interests, the Soviet trade unions do not act against the state. On the contrary, they work in the interest of consolidating law and order. The unions, depending on the concrete case, fight against bureaucracy, red tape, or curb the actions of plant managers who neglect the needs of the working people. In 1980, 3,093 industrial managers were, at the insistence of Soviet trade unions, subjected to disciplinary punishment and about 200 were removed from their posts. Over the past 5 years more than 30,000 manual jobs have been eliminated at Soviet engineering plants, the branch trade union reports. All the workers affected have been trained free at government-sponsored courses for new and better paid professions."

SOVIET FREE TRADE UNION ACTIVIST SENTENCED

NC271546 Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec (AFP) -- Dissident free trade unionist Vsevolod Kuvakin has been sentenced to one year's labour camp and five years' forced residence by a Moscow court, dissident sources said here today. Kuvakin, 40, a member of the Smot free union, was sentenced for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He pleaded not guilty, admitting only that he had contacts with Western journalists and Soviet human rights activists.

Kuvakin was one of the founder members of Smot, an inter-professional free workers' union set up in 1978 after the dismantlement, following only one year in existence, of the free unions formed by Vladimir Klebanov, who is currently in a psychiatric hospital. Only Kuvakin's wife was allowed to attend his trial, which opened last Tuesday and lasted two days, the sources said.

GRISHIN MEETS WITH PEROVSKIY ELECTORATE

LD251654 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] Meetings between the voters and deputies have started in Moscow. Grishin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy for Perovskiy, met the electorate of that district. Speaking at the meeting, he described in detail the tasks which the Muscovites must undertake in 1982 and subsequent years of the 5-year plan period. He stressed that Moscow's new 5-year plan constitutes further evidence of the immense concern of the party Central Committee, the Soviet Government and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally for the capital and for its development.